1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

[648] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western 648 groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation [196] for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *tcahud*. They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

726 Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of 722 their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa. (e). Ed.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 72 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matginyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qwdgdmund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwidágwit [Uinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátaiá [Colorado River] a little below Hudítovŏk,óvá [pine precipice, Moho Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Hava- 101
supai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the 114
Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been 101
longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs 648
with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes).

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Hava- 648
supai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two 721
tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai.

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were 648
somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding 439
years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place.

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Inform- [582]
ants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent.

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through 622
inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor.

525 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it
177 was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In
[562] former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 268-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding
648 party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the
[562] "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone,
562 he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâ-kâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 674 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

[855 861] 648 721 They are not so fair-dealing toward the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

● 721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
539

> "One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies[who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man[for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our